

The faceless men

by RICHARD BERGERON

At 3.30, yesterday, just as the afternoon was warming, they brought Daniel Francis Johnson's body to Montreal.

They carried his body in a closed casket, barely visible through the side windows of a black Cadillac limousine. Behind, thirty more limousines followed, in them, friends, enemies, and the men and women who lived in the shadow of his party's power.

Faceless people followed the cortege, faceless people watched as they unloaded the dark brown casket in front of the Criminal Court building on Notre-Dame, a few hundred feet from where Charles de Gaulle spoke last summer.

Daniel Johnson, 53, in power for a little over two years, was a leader of faceless men.

The power of the National Union had only one face. Le Chef, the leader. The cabinet ministers were never more than aides, who never spoke with authority, but were messengers of the leader's voice.

They brought Daniel Johnson's body along Route 20 yesterday, along the barren Trans-Canada highway which passes no villages, no houses, that tells nothing of the people Daniel Johnson represented.

There's another route between Quebec and Montreal, travelled last summer by Charles de Gaulle.

Route 2, along the North Shore, is named "le Chemin du Roy", and it is a microcosm of the Quebec Daniel Johnson, and his predecessor Maurice Duplessis, ruled for over twenty years.

They should have carried his body on this road. It would have been more fitting.

No one travels between Quebec and Montreal on le Chemin du Roy without understanding what makes Quebec run.

The seigneurial and fur-trading past broods on in church-dominated villages, nestled between the St. Lawrence and the tributary rivers from the north.

At every turn the narrow, winding road hugs that river, which for three hundred years had been Quebec's spine and artery.

Huge tankers now plod up and down the waterway, or pause anchored at Lanoraie, feeding steel mills and chemical plants whose blast furnace towers and waste-burning chimneys loom on the opposite shore.

At halfway point stands Trois-Rivières, a collection of Catholic seminaries and American pulp mills. Here is the home of Maurice Duplessis, the real "Chef", for whom, in the final analysis, Daniel Johnson was just another messenger.

It is on this road, and in the ugly, functional town of Trois-Rivières, that you find the faces behind Daniel Johnson.

Because, in spirit, this is where Daniel Johnson was born, this is the spiritual home of the French Canada that spawned him.

It was in Trois-Rivières, in the late nineteenth century, that the tradition he represents, jelled. Here, under the authority of a strongly conservative and reactionary Church, was born the ultramontane tradition that for decades fought any liberal movement that threatened to upset the old authority structure.

Here is the spiritual home of the French Canadian élites that allied with the authority of the Church to keep French Canada a rural, silent and frightened people.

Here, the French Canadian business interests that ratified the Confederation pact because it promised to protect their ascendancy, have their real home.

Here, is the birthplace of the nationalism Daniel Johnson represented — a nationalism based on "survival", the survival of his people in the sea of Anglo-Saxons.

"Survival" was the basis of Daniel Johnson's politique.

It is true, when his defenders say "He spoke for his people" — possibly no other French Canadian leader except Duplessis could attune himself to the nature of his people's fears, and anxieties.

Maurice Duplessis "protected" his people from "les politiciens d'Ottawa," and Daniel Johnson carried forward the same dynamic.

A politique based on survival, some will say, is by its very definition reactionary.

Whatever adjectives historians may attach to l'Union Nationale, its power was unique. It was a party of power, whose sole policy was the acquisition of power. As a government, its role was the preservation or exercise of that same power.

Power is essential to la survivance.

To the families who live along le Chemin du Roy, families who have voted for the same party because their grandfathers has, policies mean little, and separatism is just another big word created by the radicals in Montreal.

They voted for Daniel Johnson — they transferred their power to him — so he could defend them. Daniel Johnson's power did not have to be exercised, he did not have to reform the society he ruled over. His power just had to be there as a sentinel, for the time when he would have to defend his people from inundation by the sea of foreign languages that frighten French Canada.

And so, Daniel Johnson defended his people, in the same way Maurice Duplessis protected them.

His people feared being broken up, feared losing the basis of their cohesion. So the National Union kept the people together.

In the thirties, forties and early fifties, the party held the people together by keeping it in the countryside, by fighting to retain the traditional rural resources, stable government, low taxes, cheap and unthority.

The Union Nationale government's public philosophy, the historian Ramsey Cook wrote, was "a nineteenth-century capitalist's dream": foreign capital was invited to a province with enormous natural resources, stable government, low taxes, cheap and unorganized labor.

Duplessis fought federal welfare policies as infringements on provincial rights, but rarely did he offer any alternative policies of his own.

Daniel Johnson was born in Danville, a hamlet but a few miles from the mining town of Asbestos, which burned its name onto the pages of French Canada's social history.

Asbestos, like the other bitterly fought strikes of the forties and the fifties brought out the Union Nationale's true colors.

In these labor disputes, the Union Nationale openly identified itself with foreign capital against French Canadian labor.

The enormous under-representation of urban areas in the provincial legislature meant that the Union Nationale had little to fear from the votes of angry trade unionists.

Despite its reactionary policies, Duplessis's machine never failed to win re-election through a com-

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Jacques Johnson, the late Premier's youngest brother, viewing the coffin at the Criminal Court building yesterday. Daily photo by Nick DEICHMANN

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ASUS wants revision of faculty government

by CHARLES FLAUM

A proposal for drastic revision of the governing body of the Faculty of Arts and Science, providing for a substantial student representation was approved unanimously last night by the ASUS executive.

This was the content of the majority report of the Student-Faculty Relations and University Government Committee.

One of the principal changes proposed by the report is the replacement of the Faculty Council by a completely new Arts and Science Council. This council would be composed of the Dean of Arts and Science, the Vice-Principal (academic), the Dean of graduate studies, Vice-Dean of the Faculty, four divisional Vice-Deans, eight members of faculty and eight students.

The selection of the students is to be determined by the ASUS. The report emphasised the need to redefine faculty so as to include lecturers.

The report also proposed to replace the existing Nominating Committee by a Membership Committee comprising of the Dean, the Vice-Dean of the Faculty, four faculty members and four students. The purpose of this committee would be to determine the composition of all the other committees of the Arts and Science Council.

In addition all the other committees of the Faculty including the selection committees for major Faculty posts are to be redesigned to include a substantial student representation on them. All

assemblies and committees are to meet in open, except when 2/3 of the members decide that an item is confidential, in which case public justification has to be given.

A considerable discussion evolved from the question whether students should sit on the bodies handling curriculum and personnel. However, Robert Hajaly, Students' Society President pointed out, it is necessary for the students to make sure that a professor or lecturer is hired for every course approved by the Curriculum Committee. "This has not been the case in the past, as those students who have tried to register in Sociology 317b have been turned away for the past six years".

The greatest controversy of the night resulted from the submission by Mary Kay Minkler of the minority report, which was ultimately rejected. It concerned the ways in which students sitting on the Faculty committees are to be chosen. The majority report specified two types of student representatives: those from the ASUS at large and representatives to divisional councils.

The members to the divisional councils, which govern particular departments of the Faculty are to be chosen from the honours and majors students from these departments. The members of ASUS as a whole, however, are to be nominated through the Executive Applications Board.

Minkler's objection was that this procedure is a limitation of the democratic process. She said that a small body like the Executive Applications Board, which

is responsible to the executive cannot possibly make a fair decision on the appointments to such important organs as the Arts and Science Council.

She proposed that the ASUS representatives be elected openly by the Arts and Science students. These representatives would be responsible to the students by "monthly open discussions".

Allen Feingold (first year rep.) pointed out, however, that this would lead to the creation of "localised power centre" which in turn would lead to disunity, destroying any decision making ability that the students had painstakingly won.

Hajaly added that it would be impossible for the student representatives to make any decisions in time of crisis, as they would have to refer to their electorate.

They could do this only at an open meeting, and this is a very complicated procedure. If the members were appointed by the board, they would be responsible to the executive, which is always available and which is elected by the student body in the first place.

NEW DAILY STAFFERS

The cancellation of classes yesterday has forced a postponement of the meeting for people wishing to join the Daily till Friday night.

In the meantime, interested students are invited to come to the Daily office anytime in the afternoon during the week and begin work.